

THREE PAMPHLETS;
ENTITLED,
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
WRITINGS
OF THE
CRAFTSMAN.

The SEQUEL and farther OB-
SERVATIONS Examined.

*O Adulatores, servum pecus; ut mihi sæpe,
Bilem, sæpe Jocum vestri movere tumultus !*
Hor.

L O N D O N :

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THREE PLAMPHLETS
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The Second and Third
SERVATIONS EXAMINED

By J. H. ...
...
...

LONDON:
Printed by ...
...
...



THREE PAMPHLETS;
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 ON THE
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EXCESSIVE Flattery is always liable to Suspicion. It often cloaks the most detestable and wicked Designs; and never is the Growth of an Upright Heart. "A Mind, says one of our eminent Historians, that knoweth itself guilty, is in a manner dejected to a Servile Flattery, which refuses no Dutifulness, tend the same to never so great a Degree of Indignity."

Several other Reasons made me, at first Sight, suspect the frothy Author of the Observations on the Writings of the *Craftsman*, of Views very different from the Professions he makes. But his farther Observations, with which he has

at last favour'd the World, have remov'd all Doubt from my Mind; and through the thin Mask of Loyalty he wears, I think I can plainly perceive the Price upon his Head, his Tongue at Variance with his Heart, and one Hand stretch'd towards *Whitehall*, the other towards *Rome*, expecting from both the Reward of his Services. He over-acts his Part in endeavouring to convince the World how he proposes to merit the first; and it will be no difficult Task to demonstrate that, tho' the last may happen not to be so regularly pay'd, he has an indisputable Title to it.

But I must, in the first Place assure him, that I have no farther concern in the *Craftsman* than being his Reader, especially of the judicious Remarks he has lately publish'd upon *History*; and I am no otherwise prejudiced in his Favour than that I think the task he has undertaken is generous with respect to his Country and, as far as I have observ'd, agreeable to the Truth of *History*. For at this Time I have not one of his Papers by me; nor should I chuse to look into them, if I had, since I intend to give my Opinion of the Points in Dispute between him and his Antagonists impartially, and as I form'd it upon reading the *Historians* themselves.

The Motive of my Undertaking is the Duty incumbent in every faithful Subject, to discover and expose a Traitor in Disguise; and in doing it I shall, for the Time, endeavour to remove from my Thoughts my unsurmountable Diffidence

dence of all Converts from Principles suck'd in with the Nurse's Milk, and confirm'd by Education.

For, tho' a pretty Turn of Periods, their harmonious Cadence, a flowing Softness of Style, the peculiar Elegance of some *Virgin Expressions*, unfully'd by the Pens of the Vulgar, the *Mel* and *Papaver* which *Petronius* speaks of, and the Flowers and Chaplets that embellish Modern Rhetorick, smelt strong in every Page of the first, and gave Credit to the industrious Reports of its being the Offspring of a——, too Polite for a Parson, and much too delicate to hunt with the Minister, unless it is in pursuit of Royal Game ; yet the flagrant Malice, the Scandal, nay the Treasons, with which the second Part of that Pamphlet is fraught, bespeak the real Parent, and entirely clear him to whose Door the Child was laid. His distinguish'd Loyalty and steady Zeal leave no room to suspect him of low or underhand Designs ; and the Prudence which tempers his shining Qualities, renders him incapable of stumbling into the unpardonable Error of casting a Shade over the Virtues he would extoll, of depreciating while he endeavours to exalt, and of hurting those whom officiously he intends to serve. Whose Birth in a Word, and eminent Station destroy all suspicion of his demeaning himself to court a M——r, at the Expence of the Honour and Interest of his M——r.

Persuaded of these Truths, I proceed to examine the Purpose of the real Author, and in what manner he executes it.

In his first Performance, he undertakes to detect and expose the Writings of the *Craftsman*, to lay open to the World his Endeavours to impose upon their Understandings, and by a constant abuse of History, and a continu'd Series of false Quotations and erroneous Glosses, to debauch the Subjects from their Allegiance to their Sovereign, and the Duty they owe to their Country. But to that World I appeal, and I challenge him to point out one Instance wherein he has even attempted either ; unless we are to take his Assertions for Proof, and the founding Cant of an empty Declamation for Evidence and Conviction.

He gave Reason also to expect an ample Justification of the Minister and the Measures that, without the least Disguise, have often been found Fault with in that Weekly Paper : And what he says for them amounts to this, That his Great Man “ *being as much superior to his Antagonists in Temper, as in Judgment, coolly stands the successive Accusations laid to his Charge ; equally invulnerable in his Quiet and in his Character.*” These are his Words :

“ As to the Grievances complain'd of, *they must subside with the Commotions of Europe, and be the gradual Consequences of the Treaty of Seville.*” * Thus he makes good his

* If ever it should happen to be executed.

Charge ; and in this unanswerable Manner does he, at once, undeceive the Multitudes mislead by the *Craftsman*.

But this I take to be a Copy of his Countenance, a cover'd Vehicle to convey his Poison into the Breasts of the unwary. For he passes not so slightly over the Doctrines he would inculcate, and strikes his Arrows to the Heart, where he really intends to wound. He artfully exaggarates the Weakness and Imbecility of the Government, or the Neglect and Indolence of the Ministers, in suffering to pass unpunish'd the load of Treasons which he palms upon the *Craftsman*, and publishes, at full Length, and without Disguise, from other Papers.

Thus he answers several important Ends. He publishes real Treasons, by explaining the Meaning of others, to those who over-look'd them, or did not understand them in his Sense. He proclaims Indemnity to such of his Party as are capable of speaking or publishing Treason; since those are not punished who, in a Course of three Years, have been weekly and daily guilty of it; and, if you will believe him, in the most avow'd and notorious Manner. The Natural Consequence of this must be, if the Ministers are faithful, that the Discontents and Disaffections to the King and his Government are so strong and universal, that a Jury of twelve Men cannot be found to convict the greatest Criminal in this way; another admirable Hint to his Friends to be speedy in shewing their Zeal.

For

For if this is true, it is no Treason to say that the *Pretender* is at the Door.

After this gross and fulsome Flattery, which cannot fail of being offensive to their Majesties, and a freedom with their Characters most insolent in him, he bestows an admirable Compliment upon the King, and in Opposition to the Laws and Constitution, endeavours to establish a Maxim that would make his Majesty answerable for, and even guilty of, all the Crimes, Misdemeanors, and Neglects of his Ministers. He would persuade the World, no doubt, that his present Majesty must stand and fall with his present Ministry; a Doctrine, I believe, none of them will presume to advance; and for which, if I may venture to give my Opinion, they ought to have punished severely the audacious Mallice of the Author.

Far be it from me to meddle with Things so far above my Reach, to blame his Majesty's Choice of Servants, or find fault with the Measures they advise. But this, without Offence, I may venture to say, that no Mortal is infallible; and if Faults or Mistakes happen to be committed; to whose Charge is it most decent as well as just and equitable to lay them? As to the bad Compliment, he says, is pay'd either to his Majesty's Head or his Heart, when, in consequence of their undoubted Right, the Subjects, with Assurances of Loyalty and Zeal, represent what they conceive to be the State of the Nation, or complain of Grievances, I shall only beg
leave

leave to offer one Word. No King of *England*, I believe, will ever be ashamed to follow the Example of the glorious King *William* who, in that Respect, copy'd after many of his Ancestors, and frankly own'd, upon more than one Occasion, that he had been ill advis'd, and worse serv'd; yet none sure will call King *William* a *Slothful, an ignorant, or an indolent Prince*.

For my own Share, if it is not Treason, I take it to be the greatest Insult and highest Indignity to Majesty, to assert that whoever blames or accuses a Minister does, at the same Time, arraign the King; yet this our incomparable Author boldly advances; and with no less Ignorance than Assurance affirms, that if the Representations of bad Management, the Distress of our Affairs, or unhappy Situation are, in any Part, faithful, "*the Odium must fall upon the Head of the State, and the demerit be his Majesty's*." The Venom and Malice of this Assertion is evident, and I shall only add, that, if the Publisher of it is not punish'd, it is not unreasonable to imagine that he is well paid for it.

But, to give the World an indisputable and convincing Proof of the Acrimony and villainous Design of this Author, in his last Piece, entitled, *Farther Observations, &c.* not contented to repeat this absurd and illegal, if not treasonable Doctrine, of fixing the Odium of unsuccessful Measures on the King, he very frankly

acknowledges “ *That our late Measures have not prov’d Successful*: (page 9th) by which he fairly endeavours to lodge an Odium, where, notwithstanding his bare-fac’d Pretences, he wishes, no doubt, to see it multiply and encrease.

In the same Paper he further inculcates a Principle he broach’d in his Former; and pretends to demonstrate in this, that all the Dissertations of the *Craftsman* upon History, “ *where the Pride, the Weakness, the Avarice, or other Imperfections of a King or Queen are mention’d, are so many direct Satires or rather Libels against their present Majesties.*” Mr. D’Anvers can best explain his own Meaning, and justify himself; but I cannot help being before-hand with him in one Thing, and answering the first Question he proposes, in which he seems to appeal to the Opinion of the World. “ *If the only Meaning, says he, of these Essays is to tax the Ministry with our Misfortunes, why do they meddle with the Characters of wicked Kings and Queens?*” Why if it is, as he seems to own it, a generous and useful Undertaking to produce the various Instances of Attempts made, in various Reigns, against the Liberty of the Subject, to open our Eyes, and prevent our falling into the Snare, in case any such Attempts should be made hereafter, these various Instances cannot be produc’d without mentioning the Methods made use by Kings and Queens, as well as Ministers. Since sometimes Kings and sometimes Queens have govern’d by them-

themselves ; tho' Ministers indeed have oftener govern'd both ; but (notwithstanding our Author's new Doctrine) were constantly accountable for every Mischief or Misfortune, that either happen'd or was attempted : *Whether they were Agents or Deputies, the Ministers of their Sovereigns dictates, or the Executors of their own Projects* : A Maxim most disagreeable to an ambitious Minister.

His Demonstration or Proof of this Accusation against the *Craftsman* ends in an Appeal to every Man's Conscience. I shall Answer it by repeating what I have already said, that if a Jury of twelve Men cannot be found to convict the Authors of his new-invented Treasons, "*Treasons which the Law hath not declar'd to be Treasons,*" it is a very plain Demonstration, that no Body, but this abandon'd Author and his Associates, has ever apply'd them in this treasonable Manner.

But what relates to the *Craftsman* I have only mention'd by the by, and to shew I think his Discourses on our History ought to be encourag'd, as agreeable and instructing Entertainments to Persons of all Countries, who are capable of Understanding them.

What chiefly mov'd my Indignation against this Author, and the Principle or Doctrine I am now treating of, besides it's being highly injurious to their Majesties, is that, if it should ever prevail, all Essays upon History, Ancient and Modern, Translations of the best Authors, and

even his late Majesty's generous Establishment for the Encouragement of Modern History in the Universities, may be discourag'd or entirely suppress'd. According to this Method of proceeding, our Lectures upon many Parts of History may be interpreted into Treason; and the Translation of *Tacitus*, now in Hand, may prove a more troublesome and dangerous Undertaking than the Author is aware of, since it will set out to publick View, and, if he follows his Author, often in *Italicks*, the Characters of many profligate Tyrants of both Sexes; who, tho' they govern'd the Universe, and were worshipp'd by the abandon'd Slaves and Flatterers of their Times, were a Disgrace to Human-kind.

But, to leave no room to doubt of the malignant Tendency of this Author, with regard to their Majesties, and our happy Establishment, in advancing this Doctrine, I shall make Use of his own Instance of the artful Methods of *taking away the Reputation of a private Man*; (page 11th of his last Piece) and shew that it evidently concludes against himself. Is there a more usual or spiteful Method of calumniating than by publicly applying to a particular Person the Circumstances of a Story related by Another, who possibly mean't nothing less? This may be done in direct and plain Terms, and without any other Disguise than the false pretence of Friendship, or of finding Fault with the Author's Ill-nature. This is the same with coining Scandal, and putting it in other
People's

People's Names : And for daring such impudent Practices, many a Villain has receiv'd a hearty drubbing, or had his Eyes cut out, without any Enquiry in relation to his pretended Author.

If this be the just and usual Return of invading in this Manner, the Character of a private Person, what Punishment does he deserve who, in the same artful Method, attacks and endeavours to expose the sacred Characters of Majesty itself; and under pretence of detecting the hidden Meaning of others, accumulates in every Paragraph, in every Line of his Volumes, the most horrid and scandalous Reflections, interlarded with the coarsest dawbing, the grossest and most abandon'd Flattery? To what other End, I tremble to mention his Words, has he in his last Pamphlet, repeated, at least twenty Times over, *the Breach of the Coronation-Oath, the Right of the Crown forfeited, and the Consequence which*, none, sure, but himself ever dar'd to mention, *that the People are thereby discharg'd from their Allegiance* (page 12 and 16) asserting these Things, in the Manner he has done, under any pretence whatsoever, is, without doubt, highly Criminal; but the degree of Guilt and the manner of Punishment must be determin'd by those whose immediate Duty it is to vindicate the Honour, and maintain the Dignity of the Government.

I shall mention another Case of the same Nature. Should an Essay be made upon the Account given by *Tacitus* of the Usurpation of *Nero*;

Nero; and the Right of *Britannicus* asserted, notwithstanding the Consent of the People and the *Senate's* Approbation, (I avoid mentioning the various Circumstances and Consequences that would naturally arise in the Course of such an Undertaking) yet this, sure, could be no Treason: But I will venture to affirm that he who explain'd the Meaning of the Author to our present Circumstances, and demonstrated according to this new Method, (for *Tacitus* is full of Italicks) that by the *Senate* was meant the Parliament, and the *Pretender* by *Britannicus*, &c. I will venture, I say, to affirm that he would be as much guilty of High Treason, *Treason which the Law has declar'd to be Treason*, as if he had directly asserted the *Pretender's* Title to the Crown.

The same Thing would hold true of an Enquiry into the Duke of *Holstein's* Right to the Crown of *Sweden*, and of explaining it home to us. The first might be curious and innocent. The last must be villainous and guilty. This however appears to be the Drift of the Author of the Observations; and he has executed it in the most daring and extensive Manner.

The same Hints, I understand, have been given of late by other Writers for the same Side of the Question; and they have set to Work to *whiten*, as this Author terms it, the blackest Characters of Antiquity, in direct Opposition to Truth, Modesty, and good Sense: As if the Virtues of the Dead could encrease the Esteem or Respect

Respect for the Living, or setting forth the Vices and Imperfections of our Predecessors did, in the least degree, affect the Characters of our Times; especially if they have no other Relation to us than having bore the same Office or Employments.

But these abandon'd Hirelings are paid, I suppose by the Sheet; and it is a Matter of great Indifference to them in what manner they earn their Wages; whether their Performances, in the End, do Service or Prejudice to their Patrons: For, when I reflect on the Number of indiscreet, the weak, and ill-judg'd Apologies that daily appear, I cannot entertain so mean an Opinion of my Superiors, as to imagine that these Performances are revised, before they go to the Press, by any Person above the Rate of a copying Clerk in an Office.

Anti-Calebs, Anti-Oldcastes, and Anti-Occasional Writers are, I suppose, constituted and appointed, with full Power to deal with the Adversary assign'd them, as to them, in their profound Judgment and Penetration, shall seem meet. The general Method is flatly to contradict whatever has been advanced on the other Side; by which their Endeavours to mislead the World must, to speak modestly, often appear weak and ridiculous, and bring into the utmost Contempt the Cause they are engag'd in, or the Parts of those who are employ'd to support it. Thus (As the Author of the Sequel, page 18. says of the D. of Gloucester) *the Breasts that*
feel

feel the deepest Wounds from these Writers are generally not those that oppose, but they that receive them.

But, to return from this Digression, the Author in question seems to have deeper and more malicious Views than any of the Set. To what Purpose has he, in his first Performance, put her present most gracious Majesty's Character upon the issue of the Truth of Facts charg'd by Historians upon *Edward* the IVth's Queen, unless it be in hopes of drawing the Shadow of some distant Reflections on the First, by the unanimous Concurrence of Mankind in bringing the Last in guilty?

Has he alledg'd one Argument, in his first or last Pamphlet, to justify *Elizabeth Woodville*; tho', after the indiscreet and unjust Paralel he has thought fit to make, it was a Duty incumbent on him? No; but he has repeated his Challenges to the World, to prove that the Ruin of her Family was owing to her Ambition, her bad Policy, and her Endeavours to encrease and perpetuate her Power: A Truth as evident, by the concurrent Testimony of all Historians, as that *Elizabeth Woodville* was Queen of *England*.

But in what manner does this affect her Majesty. If the *Craftsman's* Report of the Dead is true, which in this Respect, it certainly is, does it follow from thence that all disadvantageous Suggestions of the Living, if any such there were, must likewise be so? No more than from
that

Queen's being Daughter to Sir *Richard Woodville*, it can be inferr'd that her present Majesty's illustrious Progenitors were Baronets of *England*.

As her Majesty's eminent Virtues can therefore, receive no Addition from the Praises bestow'd on former Queens; so an Enquiry into their Failings, or the Errors they have committed, however useful it may be, can never cast a Shade over these Virtues, nor in any sort affect her Majesty's distinguish'd Character.

I shall therefore, without the least Apprehension of Censure, take upon me to prove that the Assertion in Relation to *Edward* the IVth's Queen is just, and authoriz'd by the concurrent Testimony of Historians. For, as the evil Tendency, and wicked Designs of this Author do manifestly appear from what has been said, and from other Strokes in his Writings, which I chuse to pass over; the Mask he puts on, his violent Pretences to Loyalty makes it necessary to detect and convict him of every Falshood he advances; that the bold and dogmatical Assertions of this *Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing*, his villanous Hints and Insinuations in relation to their Majesties, and the Affection and Loyalty of their Subjects, may, for the future, be receiv'd with that Contempt and Indignation they deserve from the Flock which he lays in wait to destroy.

But I must not pass over, without Notice, the Sequel of these notable Observations, writ by the same Author, or one who seems fond of being esteem'd

steem'd his Disciple and Follower. If he thinks it suits his Character in relation to Politicks and Temporal Affairs, I hope he stops there — In these he sticks close to him; and Copies not only his shallow Manner of Writing, (I cannot in either call it arguing) but follows his Example, in his false Representations of Facts; and, while he endeavours to convict others of unfair Quotations from History, he is manifestly Guilty of that Crime.

His blind Project of *Squinting* at the Characters of two of his Cotemporaries, (a Task he finds himself so unequal to that, like other paultry Painters, he is forc'd to write the Name under the Piece, and Modestly acquaint the Reader that he means to *Squint*) has laid him under the Necessity of torturing and mangling *Rapin*, to impose upon the World a false Notion of *Richard* the III'd's Character, and misrepresent the Conduct of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

I am far from commending their Morals or justifying all their Actions; but I cannot forgive this Author's perverting the Sense and meaning of *Rapin*, in the Scraps he takes from him, and his Endeavours to palm upon the World Facts directly contrary to Truth, without any evident Advantage to his Cause, or the least Degree of Detriment to his Adversaries. For as to the little Malice he pretends to, had he not advertis'd it to the World himself, I dare venture to say that no body would have entertain'd the least Suspicion of his Tendency that way. And, for the
little

little Hurt he could purpose from thence, it was not, sure, worth his while to incur the guilt he charges so home upon others. But a strong Instance of both appear, (*Sequel page 12*) I mean, of his perverting the Sense of *Rapin*, and at the same time asserting a downright Falshood, where he affirms that *Rapin* runs counter to all other Historians in commending *Richard's* natural Love or Inclination for Justice.

I need go no further than *Tindale's* Notes upon that Passage and the Authorities there produced, to confirm *Rapin's* Assertion; and if, in the next Addition of his *Sequel*, he thinks fit to print them, to repeat the Words of Lord *Verulam*, and tell the Opinion of *Hollingshed* in relation to *Richard's* superior and distinguish'd Qualities, instead of squinting, he will look straight, instead of low idle Falshoods, he will speak Truth, and own that *Rapin* has barely done him Justice in that Particular. But how fairly does he translate, in the End of the same Paragraph? *Rapin* says, "*Richard took particular Care (for Vow-*
loit expressees more than Concern or Regard)
that Justice should be punctually and impar-
tially administred to all this Subjects without
Distinction, provided the Preservation of his
Crown was not immediately concern'd: For
when that was at Stake, he made no Scruple
to trample upon all the Rules of Right and E-
quity."

Our impartial Author translates it thus, "*His*
Regard for Justice was shewn in such Cases
only,

“ only as never interfer’d with his own particular Interest. For wherever that was in the least Degree concern’d, the Duke made no Scruple of over-turning all Laws, confounding all Right, and violating all Equity. ”

“ When his C—— was at Stake, or the Preservation of it immediately concern’d, he perverts ” wherever his own particular Interest was in the least Degree concern’d, i.e. for the value of a S—— he would over-turn all Laws, confound all Right, and violate all Equity.

Has a King then no other Interest but the Preservation of his Crown? and where that has been the Case, and the Safety of a Government been immediately concern’d, let this upright Author shew an Instance, that great Regards have been had to them; I’m afraid that he will find that among the most Scrupulous they have too often been trampled upon.

As to *Richard’s* other Qualities, *Rapin* expresses himself in this Manner. “ It must be own’d that he was a Man of excellent Parts and Understanding, (for this *beaucoup d’esprit* signifies, if not more) and of great Solidity and Judgment; Qualities which, had they been employ’d to better Purposes, would have been a great Honour and Ornament to him. ”

And thus our impartial Author explains it (page 11th and in Italicks too) “ he did not want what is call’d Parts, &c. ” and in the next Article he disputes the Solidity of his Judgment, and quotes *Rapin* page 371. But whoever

ever looks into it will find, that no Man, that was not of *Richard's* Cabinet-Council, can form any Judgment upon the Case there stated.

His first Quotation in Italicks (page 11th) is as Unfair as the other; tho' to what Purpose, unless for the Pleasure of misleading or deceiving, I cannot Imagine. Nor has he one single Passage in Relation to *Richard* that agrees entirely with *Rapin*. But where, in the Name of Wonder, found he out that silly Endeavour of *Richurd's*, contain'd in his Italicks, the beginning of the 13th page.

As it would be tedious to Translate *Rapin's* Character of that Prince; every Part of which is vouch'd by authentick and undisputable Authorities, I shall content myself with begging the Reader to look into it (Vol. 4th, page 374-5, and Vol. 6th page 241-2 of the Translation) and judge what Credit is to be given to such candid and impartial Writers. But, to shew the Opposition in a few Words, *Richard* is painted in this Pamphlet as an *ambitious, a cruel, an injudicious, unjust, and covetous Prince, with tolerable Parts and not one good Quality to recommend him*. On the other Hand, *Hollingshed, Verulam, Rapin*, and, as *Tindal* says, even *Richard's* Enemies allow *that, excepting his Cruelties to gain and keep the Crown, he was one of the greatest Men our History mentions; of superiour Parts and Understanding, of great Judgment and Penetration, Liberal, Just, and of such personal Courage as no Man ever possess'd*

ness'd in a more eminent Degree. *Verulam* says that he was in military *Virtue* approv'd, jealous of the Honour of the English Nation, and likewise a good Law-maker. Free was he call'd of Dispense, says *Hollingshed*, and, somewhat above his Power, Liberal.

In a Word *Richard* is equally remarkable for his Vices and his Virtues : Both were extraordinary, and such are too often found together. He seems to have follow'd that Maxim, which *Julius Cæsar* is said to have had constantly in his Mouth, *Si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia violandum est, in aliis rebus pietatem colas*. And had *Pompey* prevail'd, *Cæsar's* Character, which is now so justly admir'd, had been as much run down, as *Richard's* is by the Historians who writ during the Reigns of *Harry* the 7th and *Harry* the 8th. Had *Cæsar*, says an eminent Author, been unsuccessful, he had now been a *Cataline* of lesser Name.

But, after all this Pains, I must beg leave to protest that, far from approving his Conduct or Principles, I have no other View but doing Justice to History, and to set forth the mean Endeavours of these pretended Reformers wantonly to impose upon the World.

But, to proceed, our Author's two first Quotations in relation to the Duke of *Buckingham* are tolerably Fair. But he is at the old Trade, if he would insinuate that *Rapin* throws any Reflection on him in that Instance of his Revenge against *Richard*. Far from disapproving that
Part

Part of his Conduct, he is of Opinion with the rest of the World that the Desire of Revenge, for real Injuries, or against a false Friend, is really a just and noble Sentiment. His pretended Quotation (page 16) is most scandalously False.

Rapin, p. 317, has these Words, “ *Historians however ascribe to him only the same Design with the Lord Hastings, namely, to remove the Q— from the Government of the King’s Person and the R—.*” The determin’d Resolution of all the Ancient Nobility of the Kingdom.

This our Author, for a very poor Reason, translates thus, “ *That from a Spirit of Ambition and Resentment, Buckingham endeavour’d to Work himself into the Administration, and over-turn those employ’d in the late Reign.*”

Behold here the Scourge of the *Craftsman*! The Detector of Practices, no less Injudicious than Unfair. At this rate he may prove from *Rapin*, that *Richard* had a cloven Foot, and a pair of Horns.

What follows in the next Paragraph in relation to the *Dupe* he may take entirely to himself. For tho’ he gives it in *Italicks*, by way of Quotation, I will venture to affirm that there is not one Word in *Rapin* that has the least Affinity to it. Let him take Care that he and some of his Friends be not the *Dupes* of their own Schemes and Expedients.

In this ingenious and candid Manner, does our Author proceed to expose the Characters of two Persons he says he squints at: But, by his Success in this Attempt, it does not seem so easy a Matter to him to find Historical Masks and Daggers as he would make the World believe it is, by the last Words of his Pamphlet.

Had he transcribed from *Hollingshead* the following Passage, (it relates chiefly to the Methods the Duke of G——— was forc'd to make use of to get Money, in order to *Corrupt* those he had Occasion for in carrying on his Measures) and added to it three others from *Rapin*, he might have sav'd himself the Trouble of telling the World that he Squinted. They run thus.

With large Gifts he gat him unstedfast Friendship, for which he was fain to Pill and Spoil in other Places, and got him stedfast Hatred.

* To the K—— his Behaviour was, in Appearance, most Submissive, and he carefully avoided giving him the least Handle to find Fault with his Behaviour. But it was the more difficult to ward against the secret Wounds he gave to his Interest and Character, that he did not suspect from what Quarter they came.

The Q—— was deceiv'd by his solemn Protestations of Zeal and Attachment. Whilst in Publick, he made his Court to her, he privately curry'd Favour with her Enemies, (r) and scrupled not to Censure her, (x) to those whom she had oblig'd.

* *Ref.* Vol. 4th, page 296. (r) page 315. (x) page 317.

But he proceeds now to what he says was the chief Intent of his Undertaking; *to prove* the Assertion of the Observator in relation to *Edward* the IVth's Queen, and to demonstrate that the Misfortunes of her Family, are ignorantly, as well as falsely imputed to her excessive Ambition and bad Policy.

His chief Argument is (a) "*That the Queen evidently had, or could have Nothing at Heart, but the Security of her Husband, and the Succession of her Children.*" The Observator makes Use of another of the same Kind equally conclusive.

But, tho' such Arguments deserve as little Notice as their Authors, yet, for the Satisfaction of a Set of Gentlemen who think it, I suppose, a Part of their Duty to extoll and admire them, I shall endeavour to set forth, in as few Words as possible, the Solidity of the Reasoning, and the exquisite Knowledge and Judgment, or Honesty of those who pretend to swallow it themselves, in order to impose upon the World the Multitude of false and ridiculous Doctrines that daily appear from the same Quarter.

It will not surely be deny'd that these Words, in their full Extent, might, with equal Justice, have been apply'd to *Henry* the VIth's Queen. After many eloges of her extraordinary Merit, and the uncommon Abilities she undoubtedly possess'd, *Pere D'Orleans* says, '*Personne ne*

*remplit jamais mieux les Devoirs d'une femme
attachée aimant Son Mari et Son Etat.* And
speaking of her elsewhere, *That there never
was a fonder Mother, a better Mistress, or a
more constant Friend.* These Qualities too *Ra-
pin* allows her.

Her Son was a Prince of extraordinary Hopes,
(a) she lov'd him to Distraction, (b) and he al-
ways behav'd with the utmost Duty and Respect
towards her. So that of *Margaret* it might
well be said, that the King her Husband's Ho-
nour was her's, his Safety was her's, and his
Prosperity was her's. And had it been possible
for her to taste of Happiness after the Loss of
that she enjoy'd in him (which she really did not)
where could she turn her Eyes to find it, but in
the Prospect of his Crown safely transmitted to
the joint Monument of their Affection, his and
her Posterity.

Yet, notwithstanding these plausible and lofty
Words, all *Henry's* Misfortunes, the Loss of his
Crown, the Murder of his Son, and her own
Imprisonment and Exile, are, by the concurrent
Testimony of Historians, attributed to her Am-
bition; tho' perhaps they may, more properly,
be said to be owing to her unfortunate Choice of
Ministers, of whose Attachment to her, she
seem'd to judge by the Aversion of the People,

(a) *Rap. Vol. 4th*, pag. 26.

(b) *Rap. pag. 218.*

Pere D'Orl. Vol. 2d. pag. 341.

and obstinately persisted to support them in Despite, as *Rapin* expresses it, or in Contradiction to the general Bent of the Nation.

Of the Duke of *Suffolk* we shall have Occasion to speak. And she took the Duke of *Somerset* out of the *Tower*, where he was sent upon a Petition from Parliament, to put him at the Head of Affairs; for, soon after her Marriage, she gain'd an absolute Ascendant over the King.

Tho' the Authority of *Rapin* be sufficient to determine this Point, yet it will be more Satisfactory and, I hope, not disagreeable, to take a short View of the Steps by which this surprizing Change was so suddenly brought about. For, from a prosperous and flourishing Condition at Home, and being courted and respected by *Foreign Powers*; by the Mismanagement, the Blunders, and excessive Corruption of one Man, the Nation was, in the space of five Years, plung'd into Faction, Discontent, and Universal Decay within, and became ridiculous and contemptible Abroad.

Tho' some small Disorders began to arise, and Matters seem'd rather to decline towards the End of the Duke of *Gloucester's* Administration; yet, had his Counsels been follow'd, and the vigorous Measures he advis'd taken Place, *England* had soon recover'd it's former glorious and happy Situation.

This plainly appears by that Great Man's Protest (a) against employing the Duke of *Orleans*,

(a) *Rap. Vol. 4th* Page 103.

hen Prisoner in *England*, to mediate a Peace ; where, with uncommon Sagacity, he foretells (a) the fatal and unavoidable Effects of the Weak, the Pacifick Measures that then prevail'd, the Disasters that they brought upon *England*, and the Discontents and Murmurings which they afterwards did Occasion : and by the Account *Rapin* gives (b) of the desolate Situation of *France*, the Effeminacy and Weakness of their King, abandon'd by all his Allies, and the Princes of his own House soon after in a League against him.

But the Measure of the Court was to mortify the Duke of *Gloucester*, and, without Regard to the Honour and Interest of the *King*, to baffle whatever he propos'd,

About this Time the Earl of *Suffolk* was taken into the Ministry, and, by the Death of some considerable Men, the chief Management of Affairs unexpectedly fell into his Hands. In order to raise his own Credit, he pursued the same Measure of running counter to the Duke of *Gloucester*, and in 1444 or 1445, he enter'd into a Treaty with *France*, which involv'd *England* into a Series of inextricable Difficulties.

'*Tho' the Pretence of this Treaty, says Rapin, (c) was the Publick Good, it was an Expedient calculated for the Support of the Ministry, who had nothing less in View, than the Interest and Advantage of the Kingdom.*

(a) *Rap. ibid. Protest, Artic X.*

(b) *Rap. pag. 118. 265.*

(c) *Rap. pag. 119.*

The Duke of *Gloucester's* Party exclaim'd loudly against it, and the Cry of the People was upon their Side.

But *Suffolk*, who was fertile in *Expedients*, resolv'd to play a new Game, to enable him to get the better of his Adversaries. He purchas'd the Support of a Queen, and the exorbitant Power it acquir'd him, at a more extravagant Price, (a) than any of his Rivals Consciences would allow them to come up to. It cost him nothing at the Time, but, what he valued not, his Reputation; but it cost his Country dear, and was, afterwards, one of the Articles of the Commons Impeachment against him (b). This whole Year, says *Rapin*, (c) was spent in several Negotiations about the Time and Place of a New Congress; but several Difficulties arising, the Truce was prolong'd till *November 1446*. The Minister however now being absolute Master at Court, his chief Care was to provide for his Creatures and Relations. He perswaded the Queen that they were the only Persons she could confide in, and they were thrust into all the great Employments, without the least Regard to Merit or Capacity (d). All others, however well they deserv'd of their King and Country, were render'd Odious to his Majesty, and, by this Management, in a manner banished the Court.

(a) *Rap.* pag. 120, 121.

(b) *Rap.* pag. 135. *Article IV.*

(c) *Rap.* pag. 132.

(d) *Rap.* pag. 132.

This partial and impolitick Conduct at Home, the Ruin of the Duke of *Gloucester*, the ill Usage of his Friends, and the Confusion Affairs were in Abroad (a), drew upon the Queen and the Ministers an universal Hatred. But, having clear'd the *Court* of all who oppos'd them, and settled their Interest on this narrow Bottom, they began to think themselves above the reach of Opposition and Disturbance (b), and the Servile Complaisance of their first Parliament confirm'd them in that fatal Opinion.

A large Subsidy was granted to the King to enable him to carry on the War with Vigour; but, tho' this was the Pretence for the Demand, the Views of the *Minister* were quite different (c). Instead of making Preparations for War, the Negotiations for Peace were continued with Eagerness, and the Truce was further prolong'd to *April* 1447.

Thanks however were voted the Minister for his great Services to the State, and an extraordinary Subsidy granted to enable the King to reward him.

But this was one of these Parliaments, says Rapin (d), that voluntarily shut their Eyes, and suffer themselves to be led by a Court Faction; of which there are too many Examples.

(a) *Rap.* pag. 124.

(b) *Rap.* pag. 124.

(c) *Rap.* pag. 122.

(d) *Rap.* pag. 123.

The Art of managing Parliaments seems to have been this great Man's peculiar Talent, and what he chiefly valued himself upon; for he either neglected or was grossly ignorant of Foreign Affairs, and wanted many Accomplishments necessarily requir'd in one of his Station. His chief Care was to heap up immense Treasure, and enrich his Creatures, whilst he amused the Publick with continual Negotiations, Treaties of all Sorts, Preliminary Articles, and Truces.

About this Time the Truce with the Duke of *Burgundy* was prolong'd for a Year; and a new Treaty was concluded with him the *May* following which was to last for four Years. (a) The Negotiations about a Peace with *France* were going on at the same Time, but new Difficulties arising, they ended in the usual Manner. These were the Expedients for the Year, But in 1447 the People, perceiving that the Time appointed to procure a Peace was spent in Vain, loudly murmur'd against the Minister, (b) and said openly that he had *betray'd the King and ruin'd the Nation*; that his late Treaty amounted to no more than *a Truce destructive to England*, since it afforded the Enemy Time to recruit and fortify themselves.

But to calm these Murmurings, he bethought himself of a *new Expedient*, which prov'd as

(a) *Rap.* pag. 126. *Vol.* IV.

(b) *Rap.* pag. 127.

unsuccessful as the Former. It was his usual Practice to set his Adversaries at Defiance, and Challenge them to Charge him with particular Facts. But a Man must have been very imprudent as well as Bold, as *Rapin* observes, to have made such an Attempt while he was arm'd with the Power of the Court. However to convince the World of his Innocence, and the Malice of his Enemies, he petition'd the King to appoint a Day to hear his Defence. But the general Pardon he obtain'd on that Occasion did him little Service; and tho' the Authority of his Adherents all over the Kingdom (that is such only as held any Place or Office under the Ministry) (a) was made Use of to stifle the Complaints and Murmurs of the People, yet he was still look'd upon with Horror, and as the Author of all the Calamities that threatned the Nation; insomuch that the King's Name which, *Rapin* observes, 'was extremely respected, was scarce sufficient to screen him from the Rage of the People.

Rapin's Remark, on his being created Duke of *Suffolk*, is judicious and worthy of Notice, since it shows that the Queen suffer'd more by supporting this hated Man out of a Principle, she piqued — herself upon, of being constant in her Friendship, than by any other Error she was Guilty of.

' *The Queen, says Rapin, one would think, had resolv'd to brave and insult the People, by*

(a) *Rap. pag.*

' heaping continual Favours upon a Man hated
 ' and detested by the whole Nation. Her Con-
 ' duct in that Respect gave great Advantage to
 ' her Enemies, who only wanted Opportunities
 ' to stir up the People against her. Those who
 ' govern, naturally Fall into the Error of despising
 ' the Complaints and Murmurs of the People.
 ' Surrounded with a crowd of Flatterers, they
 ' know little of what passes beyond the Bounds of
 ' their Circle, or imagine that, having the Ma-
 ' jority of Great Men on their Side, the rest of
 ' the Subjects deserve no Regard. But it often
 ' happens that they feel to their Cost, that Great
 ' Men, and even Kings, when depriv'd of the Af-
 ' fection and Support of the People, have no more
 ' Power than private Persons.'

The Minister got over this Year, 1448, in
 the usual Manner, by giving Hopes of the Suc-
 cess of his Negotiations for Peace. He made
 many scandalous Concessions, (a) and stoop'd so
 low as to beg it, (*Mendier* is the Word *Rapin*
 makes Use of.) But *Charles* whose Interest it
 was to do every Thing else in his Power to Sup-
 port him, found his Account too much in en-
 creasing the Discontents of the Nation, to agree
 to it. He was well inform'd of the Situation of
 the *English* Ministry, and how much they stood
 in Need of a Peace, and made perpetual Ad-
 vantages of it, by starting affected Delays and
 Difficulties; and tho' *Mans*, the most considera-
 ble Town the *English* possess'd on the Continent,

(a) *Rap.* pag. 130.

was this Year deliver'd up, the Treaty ended in a farther Prolongation of the Truce till 1449. And the Nation continued in the same State of Uncertainty, as during the last four Years, under all the Burthens and Inconveniencies of War, without reaping any of the Advantages that might reasonably have been expected from it.

But at length *Charles* finding himself in a Condition to renew the War, and the *English* in no Readiness to oppose him, took the first slight Pretence that offer'd of commencing Hostilities. The Minister had recourse to his usual Expedient, and another Congress was appointed at *Louviers*, to accommodate the Differences that had happen'd; but the Complaints of the *English* Ministers, and their Offers of farther Concessions were rejected with equal Disdain (*a*); and no Wonder, if what *d'Orleans* says of their Situation is true (*b*). The *English* were no longer look'd upon as the same People, neither Abroad nor in their own Country; weak and despis'd in the one, full of Discontent and Faction in the other; they were never regarded till now such proper Objects of Insults and Conquest.

Rapin speaks much to the same Purpose about the Situation of the *English*; but we must not pass over his Remarks upon this Occasion.

Whilst Charles, says he, (c) prepar'd for War, he amused the English with fruitless Negotiations. The Imprudence of the Court of

a) Rap. pag. 131. (b) P. D'Orl. Vol. 2d, pag. 201.

c) Rap. pag. 132.

England at this Juncture is Matter of the greatest Astonishment. They neither had the Resolution to fulfil the Engagements they had enter'd into by their late Treaty, nor to prepare for War, ——— a Spirit of Folly and Madness seem'd to have taken Possession of the English Ministry, &c.

It would be endless to enumerate the many Crimes, the Follies, and the Blunders of the Minister; (a) the immense Treasures he scrap'd together for himself, whilst he drain'd the Nation, and suffer'd Trade to run to Ruin. They began, at length, says *Rapin*, (b) to rouse openly the impatient Temper of the English. But it was the Opinion of many at that Time, that the dismal and uncertain State, in which the Nation continu'd during the five last Years of his Administration, did better suit his Purposes, than either a profound Peace or an open War.

He was no Soldier himself, he had no Friend or Relation fit to put at the Head of an Army, nor did *England* afford one Man whom his Jealous and ambitious Temper would suffer him to entrust with so great a Command (c). So that he would have been expos'd to the Hazards and Inconveniencies of a War without reaping, what he look'd upon to be the chief Advantage of it, Rapine and Plunder.

In Peace he could not have had the Opportunities of acquiring so much Wealth, nor of en-

(a) *Rap. pag.* 134, 135.

(b) *Ibid*, (c) *Rap. pag.* 119.

riching the Multitude of Creatures and Relations, whom, without Regard to Merit or Capacity, he shamefully (as *Rapin* repeats in several Places) thrusts into every lucrative Office and Employment.

But the Disorders, the uncertain, the Heremophradite State, which from the Day he was Master at Court, he artfully managed and fomented (*a*), afforded him, at once, the different Advantages of Peace and War.

The Hopes of procuring the First, by a Shew of vigorous Measures, with which for five Years running he amused the Nation, furnished annual Pretences to impose extraordinary Taxes for Numbers of unnecessary Troops, for Expeditions and Imbarkations, and, as they were seldom put in Execution, and never in the Extent propos'd, he converted to his own Purposes the Money that was appropriated for them. Frequent Sums were granted, on pretence of secret Services, which passed through his Hands and never were accounted for. And whilst he sold, the fortify'd Towns, of the greatest Importance, belonging to the *English*, and encouraged the Enemy to besiege some (*b*), or repair others, to the great Prejudice of the Nation; he confidently mention'd, that, considering his Influence at the Court of *France*, Satisfaction would be easier obtain'd by Remonstrances and Negotiations, than by violent and unseasonable Resentments.

(*a*) *Impeachment, Art. 3d. 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th.*

(*b*) *Impeach. Art. 5.*

Thus he often acted the Part of an Agent for *France*, rather than of an *English* Minister. Such were the Murmurs and Complaints against the Duke of *Suffolk* (a), when the Parliament met in the beginning of 1450 ; and, notwithstanding all the Arts of the Court were display'd to suppress the general Discontent (b) which had seiz'd even the Members of Parliament, the Commons exhibited before the Lords an Impeachment against him, of which I shall only mention the Heads :

Article, 2d. *He was accused of Bribery and Corruption.*

Article 4th. *That he had entered into secret Articles for the Restitution of Mans ; and had imposed upon the King and Council, in order to get them to ratify his Engagements.*

It is to be observ'd that the Restitution of that Town, occasioned such Clamours in England, that it was put off for four Years after the Agreement, (c) and, according to the French Historians, it was taken by a pretended Siege during the Truce. Rapin says it was deliver'd, but that Henry had two Commissaries there to make a very odd sort of Protestation.

Article 7th. *That, by frequent Concessions and Forbearances, he had given the Enemy an Opinion of the Weakness of England, and thereby had hinder'd the Conclusion of a Peace.*

Art. 8th. *That he had made his Boasts that his Influence and Credit of the Court of France, was no less than at that of England.*

Art. 10th. *That, by his Conduct, England had lost two of its most Natural and Ancient Allies.*

Some of these Articles he deny'd, and for others which he was forc'd to own, he produced the King's Orders. But that says *Rapin* (d) was not

(a) *Rap. pag. 134-5.*

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Rap. pag. 130.* (d) *Rap. pag. 136.*

sufficient

sufficient to excuse him; his chief Crime being the Abuse of the Credit and Power, the King had allow'd him, and his frequent Impositions on the Council.

As to the last Article he made no sort of Defence, and the same Author observes, ' *That his Conduct with Respect to the Allies is a Mystery not easy to be Understood.*'

To save him from the Effects of this Prosecution, and give the Commons some sort of Satisfaction, he was sent to the *Tower*. But his being releas'd soon after, and, by the Queen's Influence, replac'd in his former Station, occasion'd a dangerous Sedition.

At the next meeting of Parliament, the Commons, in a Body, presented a Petition to the King against him; and the Queen perceiving that further Attempts to Protect him might prove dangerous, she prevail'd with *Henry* to strip him of his Employments, to turn out all his Creatures (a) and banish him the Realm for five Years. The only Method, left untry'd, to screen him from the Rage of an injur'd People.

But it did not succeed. The Punishment he had long merited overtook him before he got cross the Seas. A Captain of a Man of War met him in his Passage to *France*, and deliver'd his Country from that Scourge, by ordering his Head to be chopp'd off without further Ceremony.

Such was the inveterate Hatred against this Man, that wherever he found an *Englishman*, he

found an Enemy, and so full of Rage that, rather than he should Escape, he was ready to be his Executioner.

' It is uncertain says Rapin (a) whether he was Guilty of all the Crimes the Commons laid to his Charge, (part of them only have been here mention'd) but it can not be deny'd that the Disasters which, one on the Neck of another, happen'd to the Affairs of the English, are to be imputed to his bad Conduct.'

As the Administration of the D. of Suffolk rais'd such Universal Discontent, so strong a Ferment in the Nation; it would be superfluous to trace any further, the Cause of *Henry* the VIth's Misfortunes, or the Reasons why Historians attribute them to the Ambition and Conduct of the Queen, who openly supported him after he became so Odious to the People.

And I can not be of the Opinion of a late Author of *Reflections* on this Reign. *' That because the People lost neither their Privileges nor Patrimonies, they were trick'd into an Opinion that they were hurt by the York Faction.'*

Being brought to the brink of Destruction, and in Danger of losing the Whole, by the Conduct of wicked or ignorant Ministers, is, surely, a more just and reasonable Foundation for Clamour and Discontent, and their necessary Effects, than any particular Instances of Encroachments upon private Property.

As to the Title of the Duke of York, it was never mention'd till 1448, two Years before the

(a) *Rap*, pag. 137.

fatal End of the Minister who's Conduct pay'd his Way to the Throne: And immediately upon its being talk'd of he was recall'd from the Regency of *France*, an Office of too great Power and Importance to be trusted in the Hands of a profess'd Rival by a Jealous and clear-sighted Queen.

But as I find this Point has been warmly disputed, I must beg Leave to Trouble the Reader with one more Passage in relation to it. (a)

'The Disposition of the People inspir'd the Duke of York with the Hopes of being able to assert his Title to the Crown. — And, in all Appearance, he never would have form'd such a Design had the Duke of Gloucester been Alive, or if the Nation had not been disaffected to the Queen and the Ministers.'

The Advantage *Edward the IVth* made of these Dispositions is known to every body, and the Misery and Calamities, from which *England* never recover'd till *Henry the VIIth* came to the Crown. And as some curious Passages in the Administration of the Duke of *Suffolk* has insensibly led me into a Disquisition, which I had no View to at first; instead of entering into the Detail, I proposed, of the Conduct of *Edward the IVth's* Queen, I shall beg Leave to lay down a general Maxim, and leave it to the Consideration of these Authors, viz.

That no Instance can be given of a Revolution, especially in a free Country, that can be said to be owing to the Management or Intrigues of the Persons, that receiv'd the chief Advancement in Consequence of it.

The famous Revolution in *Portugal* (I shall only mention a few) was not surely owing to the Duke of *Bragance*; nor that of *Sweden* to *Gustavus*, who liv'd so long among the *Miners*. The Insolence of the *Danes* occasion'd the One and the Indolence, and the Oppressions of the *Spaniards* the Other. As much as the Subjects of the *Netherlands* owed their Liberty to the Superstition, and Cruelties of the Duke *D'Alva*. As much as *Britain* owes its Religion and Liberties, and the many Blessings we enjoy under his present most gracious Majesty's mild and auspicious Government, to the imprudent Councils, the untimely Zeal, and very bad Policy of King *James the II*d, and not to the Intrigues and Management of King *William*: whose Ambition was above the selfish Views of covering any other Title, than, that which his elevated Sentiments, his Moderation and true Courage acquir'd him, the glorious Deliverer of *EUROPE* from the Tyranny of an universal Monarch, and these Kingdoms from the more immediate Danger of *Papry* and *Arbitrary Power*. (a) Rap. p. 128.